622

/Information on the "tselinges" or leader of the "stani" or "company" will be found in categories 474/612./

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

distance and perhaps a certain moderation sanctioned by the fear of too many reprisals. In the third and farthest area of the community, any individual family only rarely, and possibly never, undertook hostile raiding operations on an ambitious scale; here again the frequency of these acts was limited by considerations of time and distance, and more certainly by the fear of retaliation. According to the distance which separated unrelated families, there was a certain inverse relation between the frequency of hostile contact and the severity of its manner of expression.

The vigorous measures of Metaxas ended extensive sheep theft. But today hostility still finds a parallel form of expression. Since 1937 the sheep population of the Zagori has considerably increased, with the result that the lands of most of the summer villages are over-grazed; it is now the constant anxiety of each group that its animals may not find enough grass to mate effectively and resist disease, let alone return a good milk yield. At the beginning of each summer, the President of the village allots to each family or 'company' grazing land in proportion to the size of each flock. If the number of Sarakatsan sheep entitled to graze on the land of the village increases, there is less grass for each sheep. In a very obvious sense the size and condition of a family's flock are threatened by the sheep of other families, and the grass they eat. It is now too dangerous to steal the sheep, but it is possible to steal the grass. During the summer heat, sheep are grazed at night; the technique of grass stealing is to pasture sheep just over the boundary dividing a man's own land from that of his immediate neighbour, but never so deeply into his territory that he cannot retreat rapidly at the approach of the other shepherd or the agricultural guard. It is the duty of this official to summon all offenders before the local agricultural court, where fines, generally of the order of two or three pounds, are levied. It is very doubtful if the value of the grass taken in the course of the trespassing is equivalent to the fines which are paid, even if the fact is ignored that a neighbour is almost certainly making similar raids in the opposite direction. The Sarakatsani are well aware of these facts, but they feel that inactivity would be weakness and would be so interpreted by the neighbouring groups. It is the consciousness and certainty of the hostile intent of other families threatening

/23 cont./

361 621 474 612 The small groups correspond to the extended families, the isolated huts to conjugal families, the carefully finished hut to the chief, and the whole to the Tséligato.

[113] This organization is thus found to be engraved on the soil. (17)

17. See M. Halbwachs: Morphologie Sociale, p. 9.

233 The sheepfolds are not unusual in this respect. From their number one can deduce only the size of the flock they shelter; each contains 100 to 200 animals.

361 [776] In reality, the organization of space is much more complex. The Sarakatsani also single out evil places, others constituting the abode of supernatural beings, etc. All this will be examined in connection with the study of their magical and religious beliefs.

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361 233 474 The encampment of our herders is called "konakia." This word, of Turkish origin, primarily means "dwelling." It is in this sense that it has been adopted into the popular language of all the inhabitants of continental Greece. However, among the Sarakatsani it also refers to the outbuildings of the dwellings, the sheepfolds and the installations for the tending of the animals in a word: the entire space they occupy.

[622] Moreover, the name of the chief of the group is added to the word "konakia"; and the different places occupied by the different groups are called "konakia of so-and-so."

The word "stani," also common to the herders of Greece, indicates the spot where the animal husbandry takes place.

Now, with respect to their referrent there is no difference between the terms "konakia" and "stani"; the nuance depends on the point of view from which one considers them: habitation in the first instance, husbandry in the second.

361 233 Finally, one finds a third term, "mandria," which /24/ designates again in general, with the cluster of shelters for the flocks. But this term should not be confused with the preceding ones, since it refers